

Executive Document  
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# Council Against Communist Aggression

A committee of correspondence for dissemination of democracy's information in aid of World Freedom—Deminform

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July 13, 1960

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On July 8, that williest of the Soviet conspirators against free nations, Anastas I. Mikoyan, in Khrushchev's absence on his Austrian propaganda mission, expressed optimism about reaching an agreement banning nuclear weapon tests. This confirms the deepest pessimism of Senator Dodd's work on the "Eight Fallacies of the Nuclear Test Ban," as recently finally revised for us for our Item #79. The Soviets, having wrecked every other proceedings for disarmament and negotiation and booby-trapped our defenseless and ancient B-47 which they shot down over international waters, in vain hope of a repetition of their U-2 coup, can scarcely have kept the nuclear test ban talks going except with a lively anticipation of a one-sided tactical or strategic advantage to be extracted therefrom for themselves. I am, therefore, with permission of our correspondent William Henry Chamberlin, releasing to you his rather neglected piece on Dangerous Delusions from The Wall Street Journal of this June, as our Item #79 of our documents.

We cannot expect too much from the two-party process, and conventions in particular in foreign policy area. My good friend and fellow Democrat Chester Bowles labored long and well on his platform and the rebuke by the explicit anti-recognition of Red China plank to the "We can do business with Hitler, Tojo or Mao bloc of West Coast business and to the Oregon State Senate muddleheads who raised the plea for recognition just as more blood of communist aggression seeps under the Tibet, Nepal and Indian door, is a well deserved platform rebuke to these and is most welcome. However, the basic concept is still static, defensive and traditional and does not yet dare dream of decisive victory in the non-military contest in either the neutral or captive nation areas.

The present Congress has done better. On the very eve of its recess the Senate Judiciary Committee on June 30 virtually unanimously reported most favorably the Douglas-Mundt Freedom Commission and Academy Senate Bill 1689 as amended. This is the only basically new and fresh proposal

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in the area of rolling back communist aggression since Truman's Point Four proposal of 1949 and if the campaign of 1960 should produce a candidate who, like that of twelve years ago, gives backing to as a basic, and in this case, also virtually new departure as the Freedom Academy, it will have served the American people and the cause of freedom well.

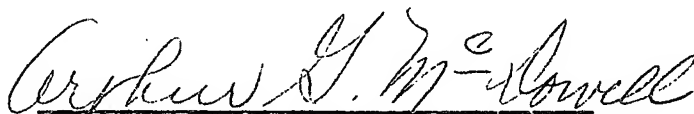
Finally, we have been prodded into motion to do something to salve the very sore American public and (if such exists) diplomatic conscience in the Bang-Jensen case. For some time we have been talking with attorneys, fund raisers and other experts about raising a memorial fund for college scholarship and education aid for the five Bang-Jensen children who with their mother are the living victims of our shameful surrender which permitted a gallant friend of the U. S. and freedom to be driven to, first his professional then to his physical, destruction. This tragedy except for the forthcoming report of the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate and a belated full-length book next december seems otherwise fated to close in shame and silence for America.

Rebecca West from England rebuked our American frittering away of time over details, as over the technical procedures in the case, by writing from England on the occasion of the death of her only and beloved sister, that "There is no way of effectively grieving for the dead except by being good to the living," and offering the first subscription to such a fund.

We are now assembling a Committee and Board of Trustees for such a fund, made up of personal friends of Bang-Jensen, such as Harold Miner of CARE and William Jovanovich, President of Harcourt Brace, Frank Trager of New York University, and a Subcommittee of our Council with Roy Brewer as Chairman, Lewis Johnson of New York AFL-CIO as Secretary, plus Herbert Philbrick, George Counts, Sal Hoffmann, William Buckley, Marx Lewis, a treasurer yet to be named, and others of prominence in stirring public conscience whose acceptance is anticipated over the weeks between now and September 30. There will be no professional money raisers or expenses. The printing and mailing bill will be borne, as usual, by the Upholsterers' International Union which furnishes administrative and office expenses of our Council, save for a small contingent fund supplied by our individual members.

Our Fund may well not be impressive under the circumstances, but when raised every cent will go to the purpose for which it is set up. Keep your conscience and your purse in reserve for early fall when you hear from our special subcommittee which desires to complete its entire campaign before the sad anniversary of Bang-Jensen's tragic death, around the ironic American Thanksgiving Day of 1959.

Sincerely yours,

  
Arthur G. McDowell, Executive  
Secretary-Treasurer

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Encl.

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Item #79

DOCUMENTS OF THE COUNCIL AGAINST COMMUNIST AGGRESSION

Wednesday, June 15, 1960  
The Wall Street Journal

## DANGEROUS DELUSIONS

There Are Four Specious Ideas About Obtaining Peace Which  
Can Be Fatal to Our National Survival

By William Henry Chamberlin

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The awesome nature of modern nuclear weapons breeds fear. Fear breeds appeasement, disguised under some nicer name, such as flexibility or realism. Appeasement leads to wishful thinking. Wishful thinking is prolific of delusions, of which the following four are prevalent in the Western world.

(1) That periodic talks among heads of governments are an antidote to war.

This idea seems to have been reinforced by a statement attributed to Sir Winston Churchill during a visit to the United States in 1955: That "jaw jaw jaw is better than war war war." If Churchill really said this, it cannot be counted among his finer or more profound observations.

For the idea that talk, when there is nothing particular to talk about, has any effect, one way or the other, on the war-making intentions of a totalitarian dictator is mere self-deception. The conversations that went on in Washington between Japanese and American representatives for months before Pearl Harbor did nothing to ward off the Japanese attack, which was actually delivered before the negotiations were formally broken off.

To imagine, as Western advocates of a summit meeting often did, that Khrushchev could be cajoled and beguiled into a whole range of top level conversations was seriously to underestimate both the ruthlessness and the intelligence of the Soviet dictator. If he thought there would be no effective Western military response he would be quite capable of pouncing on West Berlin during a summit meeting, or immediately after a conference which had not given him what he wanted.

There is no relationship whatever between "jaw jaw jaw" and war, or peace. It is not talk, not even talk with the tongues of angels, that will stop an aggressor dead in his tracks. It is only the prospect of devastating retaliation that will accomplish that objective. So long as Western defenses are adequate there need be no fear that the omission of summit meetings will mean war. And no amount of such meetings would be of any avail if defenses were relaxed beyond the safety point.

(2) That one-sided concessions and retreats under force or threat of force will obtain peace.

Cause and Occasion

It is easy, and rather cheap, and completely misleading, to confuse the occasion for war with the cause of war. To take an illustration from American history, the Civil War became inevitable after the firing on Fort Sumter. But no historian, North or South, has ever been so foolish as to suggest that America's great fratricidal struggle was fought over the possession of an indefensible offshore island near the coast of South Carolina.

An assurance of permanent peace would be so desirable that there would be a case for making almost any single sacrifice, not involving dishonor, that would create such an assurance. But, from the time of the Peloponnesian War to the days of Hitler, Stalin, Khrushchev and Mao Tse-tung, the overwhelming weight of evidence is that peace cannot be bought by piecemeal surrender to predatory dictators. Every concession merely stimulates the appetite for more.

(3) That innocence is a guaranty against assault and subjugation from without.

There is an almost breathtaking irrelevance in the view, sometimes advanced by men whose knowledge and experience should have taught them better, that the only threat of Communism comes from unsatisfactory social and economic conditions at home. It is often suggested that, if this or that country doesn't get a rapid improvement in material conditions, it will "go Communist."

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But there is no significant case when a people voluntarily voted in Communism, and this holds true for Russia and China, as well as for the smaller countries which were Sovietized by the forward sweep of the Red Army in the last phase of the war. The only free election, based on universal suffrage, ever held in Russia was the Constituent Assembly, in which about a quarter of the members were Communists, or Bolsheviks, as they were then called. Because this assembly, although most of its members were in far left field politically, refused to ratify the seizure of power by the Communists, it was almost immediately dissolved by armed force; and there have never been conditions for a free election in the Soviet Union since. There has never been a plausibly free vote in Red China.

#### No Envoy of Reds

Nor has there been a single authenticated case of a people accepting Communism because of envy of Soviet conditions. It was not because of superior social conditions in Russia that Hungary is still a Soviet dependency. It is because the Soviet Army had plenty of tanks and the Hungarian freedom fighters did not.

Any nation that trusted to innocence of purpose and advanced social legislation to ward off the danger of Communist aggression would be inviting a very rude and unpleasant awakening.

(4) That surrender to the Soviet will, through unilateral disarmament, would be a satisfactory way out.

The parrot-like cry, "Ban the Bomb," has been the theme song of many British mass meetings and protest marches from the British nuclear installation at Aldermaston. Needless to say there have been no responsive protest marches from any Soviet nuclear station; indeed Soviet citizens would experience considerable unpleasantness if they tried to spot the location of such a station.

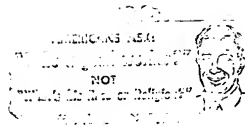
The philosopher-mathematician Bertrand Russell (less well known by his inherited title of Earl Russell) is one among a number in England, a smaller number in the United States, who have publicly expressed the view that Soviet occupation would be a smaller evil than a nuclear war. What is overlooked by those who glibly talk of "rather being Red than dead" is that life would go on in Communist serfdom, and that the life of the serf is neither happy nor even secure.

This point is brought out with fictional vividness in the contemporary novel, "When the Kissing Had to Stop," by Constantine FitzGibbon. Starting out with scenes of unilateral disarmament and anti-American demonstrations, the author carries the story to the point where a radical leftist government takes over and obtains the withdrawal of the American bases. Then, before the appeasers can put on a really good celebration, Soviet troops move in and the first decree is that half the population of Britain is to be deported to Siberia, in the interest of "streamlining the British economy."

Grave as are the problems posed by nuclear armaments, cowardly acceptance of slavery would not provide a satisfactory answer, even to those who advocate such a solution as a lesser evil. If the West were decadent enough to accept such a proposition, even the miserable life of Communist serfdom would not be vouchsafed long. ~~The subject satellite nations of the West would very probably be caught up in the holocaust of a war between the Soviet Union and Red China.~~

It would be a good thing if these four delusions could be thoroughly threshed out in this year's Presidential campaign.

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